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Security Council
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Provisional

3496th Meeting
Monday, 30 January 1995, 10 p.m.
New York

President:	Mr. Cárdenas	(Argentina)
Members:	Botswana	Mr. Legwaila
	China	Mr. Li Zhaoxing
	Czech Republic	Mr. Rovensky
	France	Mr. Mérimée
	Germany	Mr. Graf zu Rantzau
	Honduras	Mr. Martínez Blanco
	Indonesia	Mr. Wisnumurti
	Italy	Mr. Fulci
	Nigeria	Mr. Gambari
	Oman	Mr. Al-Khussaiby
	Russian Federation	Mr. Fedotov
	Rwanda	Mr. Bakuramutsa
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Gomersall
	United States of America	Mrs. Albright

Agenda

The question concerning Haiti

Report of the Secretary-General on the question concerning Haiti (S/1995/46 and Add.1)

95-85098 (E)

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The meeting was called to order at 10.20 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The question concerning Haiti

Report of the Secretary-General on the question concerning Haiti (S/1995/46 and Add.1)

The President *(interpretation from Spanish)*: I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Belize, Canada, Haiti and Venezuela, in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Longchamp (Haiti) took a place at the Council table; Mr. Laing (Belize), Mr. Fowler (Canada) and Mr. Tejera Paris (Venezuela) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

The President *(interpretation from Spanish)*: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the report of the Secretary-General on the question concerning Haiti, documents S/1995/46 and Add.1. Members of the Council also have before them document S/1995/85, which contains the text of a draft resolution submitted by Argentina, Canada, France, Germany, Honduras, Italy, Rwanda, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the United States of America and Venezuela.

I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to the following other documents:

S/1994/1377, letter dated 5 December 1994 from the Chargé d'Affaires *ad interim* of the Permanent Mission of the United States of America to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council, transmitting the sixth report of the Multinational Force in Haiti;

S/1994/1430, S/1995/15 and S/1995/70, letters dated 19 December 1994, 9 and 23 January 1995, respectively, from the Permanent Representative of United States of America to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council, transmitting the seventh, eighth and ninth reports of the Multinational Force in Haiti, respectively;

S/1995/55 and Add.1, letter dated 18 January 1995 from the representatives of Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Australia, Bahamas, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belgium, Belize, Benin, Bolivia, Costa Rica, Denmark, Dominica, Grenada, Guatemala, Guyana, Israel, Jamaica, Jordan, the Netherlands, the Philippines, Poland, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Trinidad and Tobago, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America addressed to the President of the Security Council; and

S/1995/90, letter dated 27 January 1995 from the Permanent Representative of Haiti to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council.

The first speaker is the representative of Haiti, on whom I now call.

Mr. Longchamp (Haiti) *(interpretation from French)*: The honour and responsibility of presiding over the Security Council for the current month have been vested in you, Sir, and in your country, Argentina. I am very pleased to see you conducting the deliberations with so much understanding and dedication. Your wealth of diplomatic experience and your professional and human qualities are tangible contributions to the success of the Council's work.

The delegation of Haiti welcomes the opportunity the draft resolution gives us both to express the support of the Haitian Government for the text itself and to demonstrate its support for the recommendations contained in the report (S/1995/46) of the Secretary-General, dated 17 January 1995, on the question concerning Haiti.

On 31 July last year, the Security Council adopted resolution 940 (1994), which authorized the creation of

a multinational force whose mandate it was to create conditions for the implementation of the Governors Island Agreement of 3 July 1993 — in particular, the creation of an environment conducive to the deployment of the United Nations Mission in Haiti. Today, we can say that such an environment exists.

Since the peaceful deployment on 19 September 1994 of the Multinational Force, the Governors Island Agreement has been progressively implemented. Those who usurped political power have withdrawn; the legitimate authorities have resumed their functions; constitutional order has been re-established; and President Jean-Bertrand Aristide has resumed his position as Head of State. Currently, an electoral commission is preparing for the forthcoming legislative and municipal elections.

The joint United Nations-Organization of American States International Civilian Mission in Haiti, which has resumed its activities in Haiti, has noted a considerable improvement in the human rights situation. It recognizes that the Haitians now enjoy their fundamental rights — in particular the freedom of speech, freedom of association and freedom of assembly. To help establish an atmosphere of peace, since his return to the country on 15 October 1994 President Jean-Bertrand Aristide has waged a tireless campaign to promote tolerance and national reconciliation.

Accordingly, we have every reason for hope in Haiti. The Haitian Government therefore wishes to express its gratitude to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, the Friends of the Secretary-General on the question of Haiti, the States members of the Security Council, the participants in the Multinational Force and the leadership of the United States, whose commitment contributed to the success of the Multinational Force in Haiti.

Nevertheless, the confidence of the Haitian people in a better future is tempered by what they see as the possible survival of the *coup d'état* regime; the activities of a network of their former oppressors, including former members of the Haitian armed forces, paramilitary groups, such as the terrorist organization FRAPH, and the former section heads and *attachés*; the widespread availability of weapons accumulated during the three years after the *coup*; and the inability of the Haitian judicial system to satisfy the demands of the victims of the *coup d'état*.

The Haitian Government is aware that urgent measures need to be taken to address this problem. Two commissions have therefore been established to study the reform of the armed forces of Haiti and the creation of a police force in accordance with the provisions of our Constitution. Reforms are under way in the judiciary. The Government is waiting only for the United Nations Mission in Haiti to be deployed in order to assist it in these tasks, as promised under the Governors Island Agreement and resolution 861 (1993) of 27 August 1993.

The Haitian delegation therefore sincerely hopes that the Security Council will unanimously adopt the draft resolution, as a sign of the continued support of the international community for the democratization of Haitian society.

On behalf of my Government, I wish to take this opportunity to give a cordial welcome to the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Lakhdar Brahimi, and to all the members of the United Nations Mission in Haiti.

The President *(interpretation from Spanish)*: I thank the representative of Haiti for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Canada. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Fowler (Canada) *(interpretation from French)*: The Security Council is meeting tonight to decide on a new step in the international community's continued commitment to the restoration of peace and democracy in Haiti. Four months ago, the multinational coalition authorized by the United Nations arrived in Haiti. Then, on 15 October, President Aristide returned to his country.

Since then, much progress has been made. A new Government has assumed office, Parliament is working freely again, the human rights situation has improved dramatically, and the legislative elections, to be held this spring, are approaching. The Haitians have begun to enjoy rights and freedoms denied them for the past three years.

The multinational coalition, led by the United States, has contributed to the creation of the environment necessary to enable Haitians to begin to build a peaceful, stable and democratic society. We commend the efforts of all those who are participating in this mission.

The time has come to begin the transition from the multinational coalition to the United Nations Mission in

Haiti (UNMIH), as envisaged in resolution 940 (1994). The draft resolution the Council will consider tonight affirms the existence of the secure and stable environment required for the deployment of UNMIH and envisages that the transfer from the Multinational Force in Haiti (MNF) to UNMIH will be completed by 31 March this year.

This transition underlines the continuity of the international community's commitment in Haiti. Planning for the transfer is well under way. The United Nations and the Multinational Force are working in close cooperation so that it will go smoothly. Many of those now in the MNF will stay on with UNMIH, which shows clearly the link between the two operations.

Canada is firmly committed to participating in this process and will make an important contribution to UNMIH. Canadian police and military personnel are already on the ground, heading the team now preparing the hand-over.

(spoke in English)

While the security environment in Haiti has improved sufficiently to allow for the transition from MNF to UNMIH, we agree with the Secretary-General's observation that the situation remains fragile, and we support his assessment of the challenges faced by Haitians in consolidating security and stability. For this reason, we join him in urging the multinational coalition to work actively to improve the security situation in the time remaining before the hand-over to UNMIH. In particular, we would encourage the MNF to pursue disarmament programmes energetically.

Maintaining law and order is the biggest challenge facing Haitian authorities. The interim public security force lacks experience and expertise. UNMIH will provide additional training and will monitor its activities in order to make the force more effective in carrying out its law-and-order functions. We fully support the increase in UNMIH's civilian police component for this purpose. However, it is important to underline that UNMIH's responsibility remains to assist, not to replace, Haitian efforts in sustaining a secure and stable environment.

The current situation also makes it essential that there be no delays in training and deploying a permanent Haitian police force and that improvements to the judicial system be undertaken rapidly. Canada will work with the Haitian Government to establish a national police, as we have already done with regard to the creation of the interim security force. Close to 100 Haitians trained in Canada will arrive in the coming weeks to join the new police force. In the months ahead we will also be providing support to make the judicial system more effective.

Continued assistance from the international community aimed at helping Haitians rebuild their economy remains key in consolidating stability. The link between economic and social development, on the one hand, and peace and security, on the other, is nowhere more evident than in Haiti. Since President Aristide's return, Canada has disbursed over $30 million in support of national reconstruction efforts.

While the difficulties ahead remain daunting, Haitians are making progress in restoring democracy and establishing peace and stability. The international community has played an active role in supporting this process. The transition from MNF to UNMIH outlined in the draft resolution, which we are pleased to co-sponsor, fully reflects this ongoing commitment.

The President *(interpretation from Spanish)*: The next speaker is the representative of Belize. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Laing (Belize): I wish to thank the members of the Security Council for granting our request to participate in the discussion on the important item before the Council tonight. In this regard, I have the honour to address the Council on behalf of the 12 States of the Caribbean Community (CARICOM) which are Members of the United Nations: Antigua and Barbuda, the Commonwealth of the Bahamas, Barbados, the Commonwealth of Dominica, Grenada, the Republic of Guyana, Jamaica, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, the Republic of Trinidad and Tobago, and my own country, Belize, and also on behalf of the Republic of Suriname.

As the Council is aware, the Governments and the peoples of the CARICOM States have been active parties in the efforts to create a just and democratic order in Haiti. With deep fraternal concern, our Governments participated actively in the efforts for international monitoring of the democratically elected Government of President Jean-Bertrand Aristide, and we repudiated the actions that removed him from power. We were therefore proud to be able to contribute, to the extent that our limited security capabilities permitted, in the formation of the Multinational Force (MNF) authorized under

paragraph 4 of Security Council resolution 940 (1994). The deployment of the Multinational Force in Haiti, on 19 September 1994, represented the first phase in the international community's delicate and difficult undertaking to restore to office the democratically elected Government of President Aristide and to assist that Government in the economic, social and institutional reconstruction of its devastated country.

The Governments of the CARICOM States and the Republic of Suriname were greatly encouraged by the fact that the deployment of Multinational Force into Haiti took place under peaceful circumstances. We continue to be encouraged by the effective manner in which it has carried out its important mandate in the four months that it has been on the ground in Haiti. Our Governments have concurred with the assessment of the Commander of the Multinational Force that a secure and stable environment now exists in Haiti, and we have been pleased to join other participants in the MNF in recommending that the Security Council determine that it is appropriate for the United Nations Mission in Haiti (UNMIH) to begin assuming its full range of functions.

We therefore fully support the decision concerning this matter contained in the draft resolution before the Security Council. Many of our Governments will also participate in the next phase, under the aegis of UNMIH, in testimony of our deep commitment to the process of creating the conditions necessary to ensure that the fledgling Haitian democracy is maintained and strengthened.

The current situation in Haiti gives us much cause for hope. At the same time, however, there is no room for complacency. In his report to the Council, the Secretary-General has stressed that the relative security currently enjoyed by the Haitian people remains fragile and that the political and social environment now prevailing contains many factors that could lead to future instability. It is vital that the present security situation in Haiti should be sustainable after the departure of the Multinational Force and the full deployment of UNMIH. For this reason, CARICOM Governments and Suriname feel compelled to stress the need for effective deterrence to continue after the hand-over to UNMIH and to respond to any residual subversive threats to the Government of Haiti. A capability for swift, coordinated and overwhelming action anywhere in the country is therefore a necessity. In this regard, we note the indications given in the Secretary-General's report that the military component of UNMIH will include a quick-reaction force. We trust that it will be of a strength and capacity adequate to satisfy this vital security need.

Many crucial steps remain to be taken to achieve the political, economic, social and institutional reconstruction of Haiti and to provide for the Haitian people a peaceful and stable future based on democracy, respect for human rights and the rule of law and on economic and social justice. CARICOM member States and Suriname are committed to playing a constructive role, to the extent of their means, in this critical part of the process.

The President *(interpretation from Spanish)*: It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

I shall first call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements before the voting.

Mr. Gambari (Nigeria): My delegation is delighted that today we are able to consider the text of a draft resolution which the Friends of Haiti have put together on the situation in that country, the substance of which derives from the content of the Secretary-General's report of 17 January 1995. Nigeria is especially pleased that, thanks to the successful intervention of the Multinational Force (MNF), the situation in Haiti can now be described as secure and stable and, in the words of the Secretary-General,

> "people can move freely throughout the country; the constitutional Government exercises its authority over the whole country; and the Provisional Electoral Council is making preparations for legislative and local elections." *(S/1995/46, para. 78)*

Specially welcome is the observation that no serious danger to the existence of the Government can now be identified in Haiti.

In spite of these positive developments, experience in Haiti shows that there is a need for constant vigilance on the part of both the newly installed Government and the international community so that the gains so far achieved may not be jeopardized. Vigilance is all the more necessary in view of the fact that, as the Secretary-General himself underlines in his report, the crime rate in Haiti is still unacceptably high and breaches

of security occurring in various parts of the country negatively affect the social situation.

The current draft resolution before the Security Council is timely and, in our opinion, balanced and constructive. My delegation will therefore support it, and for at least three reasons.

First, the draft resolution, in authorizing the current phase of United Nations operations in Haiti, has secured the consent of the Government of Haiti, which is a vital prerequisite for all Chapter VI United Nations peace-keeping operations. It is our understanding that the up to 6,000 troops to be deployed in Haiti will use force only in exercise of the right of self-defence and in fulfilment of other objectives defined in the mandate.

Secondly, my delegation is in agreement with the six-month mandate period provided for the United Nations operation in the first instance, which accords with the Secretary-General's recommendation. However, as the draft resolution underlines in its penultimate preambular paragraph, it is important that the force level of UNMIH be kept under constant review. My delegation is, in fact, in favour of establishing a uniform standard for all peace-keeping operations authorized by the Security Council and, hence, would support the insertion of the substance of the language of the present text in all future resolutions which deal with mandate extensions and reviews of force levels of United Nations peace-keeping operations.

Finally, my delegation welcomes the import of operative paragraph 10 of the current draft resolution, concerning the international community's commitment to assisting and supporting the economic, social and constitutional development in Haiti in recognition of their importance for sustaining a secure and stable environment. This provision accords with what should be the international community's commitment to assisting all States in post-conflict peace-building situations. In our view, what is good for Haiti should be good for all other States newly emerging from years of conflict. I am talking in particular about Mozambique, Somalia, Rwanda and, hopefully, Liberia.

In conclusion, the transition of the international peace-keeping operation in Haiti from the Multinational Force to the United Nations, as proposed in the present draft resolution, marks a very important phase in our collective efforts to help establish peace and security in Haiti. We commend the efforts of the States that have participated in the Multinational Force. We also commend the Organization of American States, as well as the International Civilian Mission in Haiti, for the work they have done in Haiti. We commend also the Secretary-General for his tireless efforts to secure peace in Haiti. We trust that the transfer of responsibility from the Multinational Force to UNMIH will be hitch-free and that the remaining complex tasks of national rehabilitation and national reconstruction in Haiti will be carried out with equal vigour and equal commitment so that peace, stability and development may prosper and be sustained in that country.

Mr. Legwaila (Botswana): My delegation welcomes the report of the Secretary-General on the question of Haiti (S/1995/46). The report is, as usual, both detailed and informative. We are grateful that the situation in Haiti is, on the whole, reported to be slowly returning to normality and that the people of Haiti now enjoy some basic, fundamental human rights.

We are, however, concerned about the reported extra-judicial killings, extortions, intimidation of members and officers of the popular organizations, and other criminal activities which continue to pose a threat to peace and stability in Haiti. We agree with the Secretary-General that these acts of violence need to be brought under control before they get out of hand. These criminal activities are especially worrying against the backdrop of the recent history of Haiti. Their connection to former paramilitary networks, however remote, does not augur well for the stabilization of the country and the reconciliation of its people.

Anything that reminds Haitians of a possible return to the recent past has to be eliminated, and in this regard we are pleased with the determination of the Multinational Force to search for arms caches and disarm the criminal gangs which roam the countryside. The people of Haiti need to be assured that there will be no return to murderous rule.

We wish the judicial system in Haiti were different from what it is reported to be, and we commend the good work that the Multinational Force is doing in the field of justice in Haiti. There is definitely a need to improve the judicial system so that justice can be dispensed with ease and the convicts punished for their crimes. We fully understand the frustration of the people of Haiti regarding the failure of the judicial system, but we wish to implore them not to attempt to take the law into their own hands

while the administration of justice in the country is being reorganized.

We acknowledge the illustrious work the United Nations, its programmes, agencies, funds and offices, are doing for the people of Haiti. Their presence in the country, along with that of the Multinational Force and the non-governmental organizations, is certainly a source of hope where there was despair.

We are encouraged by and appreciate the operational creativity displayed by the commanders of the Multinational Force in establishing the Interim Public Security Force because the situation on the ground so dictated. They did not wait for the second phase of the United Nations Mission in Haiti (UNMIH) to establish a police force as envisaged in resolution 867 (1993) because the unexpected collapse of the armed forces of Haiti left the country without a security force. This supports the view that the United Nations should always attempt to establish, directly or indirectly, a presence in a conflict situation as early as possible, because rare opportunities may be missed where such a presence does not exist.

We fully support the provisions of the current draft resolution relating to the progressive deployment of UNMIH until it reaches full strength by 31 March 1995. We trust the transition from the Multinational Force to UNMIH will be smooth, given the administrative, logistical and organizational planning which went into it. We are especially happy that the Council has accepted the recommendation of the Secretary-General that the civilian police component of UNMIH should be increased from 567 to 900 persons. The increased UNMIH civilian police will help with the rapid establishment of a Haitian national police force.

We support the extension of the mandate of UNMIH to 31 July 1995. We hope the United Nations will help in post-conflict peace-building when the mandate of UNMIH ultimately comes to an end, to ensure that the people of Haiti consolidate their newly won democratic rights and liberties, as well as helping to strengthen the implementation of economic and social policies and programmes which are the gateway to future peace and stability in Haiti.

Mr. Martínez Blanco (Honduras) *(interpretation from Spanish)*: My delegation wishes to thank the Secretary-General for the submission, pursuant to Security Council resolution 940 (1994), of his report dated 17 January 1995 on the situation in Haiti.

The events that have taken place in Haiti were of great concern to the Government of Honduras, since the military coup that overthrew the legitimately elected President of that country set a serious precedent detrimental to democracy in the Caribbean and Central American region in particular, and in the Latin American region in general; and because, furthermore, the crisis deepened as the military regime refused to relinquish power, flouting all efforts by the international community to restore order and democracy in Haiti. Non-compliance by the de facto Government with the Governors Island Agreements and the New York Pact, as well as its flagrant defiance of the United Nations and the Organization of American States (OAS) were having a negative impact on the credibility of those organizations and the confidence placed in them, thereby reinforcing an impression of regional instability.

The case of Haiti proved to be an exception in all its forms. In our view, while the crisis in that country was of an internal nature and did not constitute a threat to international peace and security, at the same time the crisis had serious political and legal implications for democracy.

Serious violations of human rights and the mass exodus of a considerable portion of the Haitian population for political or economic reasons called for prompt and resolute action on the part of the international community, the United Nations and the Organization of American States.

Honduras, following its humanitarian tradition, and faced with the serious situation resulting from the flight of hundreds of persons from Haiti in the quest for safety in third countries, on two occasions welcomed Haitian nationals onto its soil as refugees.

The measures adopted by the United Nations in cooperation with the OAS offered during their first stage a viable opportunity for resolving the Haitian crisis. Nevertheless, it was only by means of concrete action on the part of this Council and the international community that it was possible to reverse the situation and to offer Haiti an opportunity for democracy to be realized in that country, and to become the engine of its future economic and social development.

My Government is of the view that force should be used as a last resort in maintaining international peace and security. It also believes that this type of decision should be adopted by the Security Council in any event

with the support of all its members, that is to say, in a collegial manner. The concept of a multinational force under the leadership and control of one country should not be regarded as an alternative to the mechanisms that are established in the United Nations Charter for the maintenance of international peace and security, especially at this time, when we have very developed concepts and instruments, such as preventive diplomacy, peace-building and peace-keeping.

Similarly, we recognize the importance of joint activities undertaken by the United Nations, the Organization of American States and the Multinational Force currently deployed in Haiti, in particular the commitment of the United Nations Secretariat to work together with the OAS in assisting Haiti in the fields of national reconciliation, political stability and social and economic reconstruction.

Moreover, my delegation welcomes the statement by the Multinational Force Command and the recommendation made by the States participating in that Force in which they affirm, respectively, that a stable and secure environment exists in Haiti. This enables the Council to determine that it is appropriate for the United Nations Mission in Haiti (UNMIH) to begin to assume its full functions.

The Secretary-General also refers to the importance of the achievements of the advance team which is responsible for coordinating the transition from the Multinational Force to UNMIH and which is planning the transfer functions on the ground. Our delegation recognizes the need to increase the size of the technical team of experts on administration and logistics that is to cooperate with the advance team.

As to consultations with Governments with a view to their contributing to the military and civilian aspects of UNMIH, my delegation wishes to report that Honduras will contribute a contingent of 120 military personnel and two transport units, and that the necessary contacts have been made with the Secretariat to expedite deployment, which our information indicates should be completed early in March this year.

The Secretary-General notes in his report that resolution 940 (1994) mandates UNMIH to assist the Haitian authorities in establishing an environment conducive to the organization of free and fair elections. We hope that the Secretariat has begun the relevant consultations with the Organization of American States (OAS) to work on these tasks in a coordinated way and that it will be ready to assist as soon as necessary.

My delegation acknowledges the efforts of the multinational force to deploy in remote areas of Haiti, and its activities to maintain calm in the country. We stress the importance of training an interim security or police force made up of Haitians in order to guarantee a secure and stable climate before the transitional period. It is important to note that, while the number of students and graduates has increased considerably, the interim force must be expanded considerably and training courses must be intensified so that the force is commensurate with the size of the country and its population, and, above all, so that it measures up to the delicate task before it.

We therefore unreservedly support the draft resolution before the Council, extending the mandate of UNMIH for a further period of six months and authorizing the deployment of the United Nations Mission in Haiti.

In our view, Haiti could soon provide the third example — after Central America and Mozambique — of the Organization's intervening through a peace-keeping operation under Council resolutions to make progress from conflict to peace and from peace to a stable and lasting democracy. But the current efforts of the international community at large, and of the Security Council in particular, to maintain democracy and the rule of law in Haiti can have no long-term success if the grave socio-economic situation there persists. In his report, the Secretary-General highlights the generous pledges made to help Haiti solve its serious economic problems. Honduras fully shares his concerns in this regard.

Millions of Haitians have placed their hopes in this exercise. The United Nations must not let them down. My country is committed to this cause, and will contribute to it within its modest means.

Mr. Rovensky (Czech Republic): My delegation has been following closely the activities of the Multinational Force in Haiti, and is delighted both with the substantial progress that has been attained and with the way in which it has been attained — that is, largely non-violently. Indeed, it is hard to recall many other changes of a political order as radical as the one that has occurred in Haiti where the level of violence in resolving the crisis would have been as low, especially in view of the high level of violence that prevailed while the crisis itself

lasted. We congratulate the Multinational Force (MNF) and the people of Haiti on this remarkable accomplishment.

We note with great satisfaction that the situation with respect to the observance of human rights and the security situation in the country has improved immensely over the past few months. However, a lot remains to be done. The previous regime appears to have been so corrupt that purging the security and judicial apparatus, to name just two examples, of unwelcome elements has led to their almost total collapse. The task of the new Government is thus to build them up from scratch, a task even more arduous than just revamping them.

At the same time, all dangers to the country's fledgling democracy have not disappeared. We feel that a truly terrifying quantity of arms is circulating or is cached in the country, and we are uncertain about the paramilitary elements that seem to be hibernating for the moment, perhaps awaiting a more propitious time to show signs of life again. Efforts to disarm them may not have been assiduous enough so far.

These are some of the reasons why we understand the need for a massive infusion of United Nations personnel to take over from the MNF. This step meets with our full approval. Resolution 940 (1994) anticipates that the task of the United Nations Mission in Haiti (UNMIH) will be accomplished no later than February 1996; we hope that this will be long enough for it to complete its job.

President Aristide has attained some important political successes, especially in having consolidated his Cabinet. We are encouraged by the definite steps that have been taken towards holding parliamentary elections, and we encourage Haiti's authorities to hold them at the earliest convenient time. We have every expectation that once they take place the United Nations will certify them as having been free and fair.

By successfully completing the task it was authorized to undertake by paragraph 4 of resolution 940 (1994), the multinational force has demonstrated the usefulness, in some circumstances, of the Security Council's entrusting groups of States with enforcement action. We see this as an exceptional measure, to be used when all else fails. But, following the non-implementation of the Governors Island Agreement, we saw that in Haiti all else had indeed failed. In following the progress of the MNF, the Security Council benefited from frequent, detailed and on-the-record reports provided on behalf of the MNF by the United States delegation. We are grateful for this reporting effort. We salute and thank all members of the MNF and wish equal success to the new UNMIH force.

Mr. Bakuramutsa (Rwanda) *(interpretation from French)*: The delegation of Rwanda wishes to pay a warm tribute to the Secretary-General for his fine report on the situation in Haiti.

Having read the various reports and recommendations, we are very pleased to learn that a secure and stable climate prevails in that Republic, the victim of so many years of civilian and military dictatorship.

With the return to power of His Excellency Mr. Jean-Bertrand Aristide, we rejoice that a new era of peace, tolerance and democracy has emerged from the turmoil of Haitian history to reward the efforts of the Haitian people and the international community in their quest for lasting peace in that country.

The Rwandan delegation welcomes with great satisfaction the secure and stable climate that now exists in Haiti, for which we can in large measure thank the Multinational Force. Nevertheless, we have to deplore certain temporary difficulties, which somewhat tarnish the bright picture of the future.

At a time when the international community is concerned to uphold Haiti in its efforts to consolidate its democratic underpinnings, the Rwandan delegation expresses the hope that socio-economic development in that country will be the keystone of all the achievements which they are planning for the short and medium term.

We need hardly dwell at length on peace, democracy and development, the three pillars of economic prosperity for any country. The Republic of Haiti was among the first republics in the northern hemisphere. Unfortunately, now that the others have become developed, they not merely have forgotten to hold out their hands to Haiti, but are actually exploiting it. That is why what this Organization now calls "preventive diplomacy" should, for Haiti as for Rwanda, be a diplomacy that takes the form of multifaceted assistance from the international community to promote economic growth, which is the very basis of peace and lasting democracy. We hope that Haiti's major neighbours in the Organization of American States will continuously and increasingly help to relaunch the Haitian economy.

In view of all I have said and in view of the solidarity of countries that have suffered so much from injustice, the Rwandan delegation is very pleased to be a co-sponsor of the draft resolution on Haiti and will vote in favour of it.

Mr. Li Zhaoxing (China) *(interpretation from Chinese)*: Recently there has been some improvement in the situation in Haiti. Life has gradually returned to normal; Government departments have begun to operate; and preparations for the elections are under way. These developments are inseparable from the efforts of the international community and of the Security Council, and we welcome them. At the same time, we have noted that, as the Secretary-General observes in his report, crime remains rampant in Haiti today; yet it is unlikely that a police force will be established very soon. Thus, there exists a security vacuum. This situation cannot but cause grave concern.

All along, China has supported the Haitian people in their efforts to achieve peace, stability and national reconstruction, which, we believe, will help maintain peace and stability in the region. We have consistently stood for the peaceful settlement of disputes and opposed the use or threat of use of force in international relations. Therefore, we had reservations on Security Council resolution 940 (1994). In order to support the Haitian peace process, however, we maintained a serious and responsible approach throughout the consideration of the Haitian question in the Security Council, and we properly handled related questions in cooperation with the parties concerned.

Considering the possible changes in Haiti's situation, and particularly the security situation following the completion of the deployment of the United Nations Mission in Haiti (UNMIH) by the end of March, we deem it necessary that the Security Council should at that time reconsider such questions as the mandate and size of UNMIH, just as it reconsidered these questions for the peace-keeping operations in Georgia and Tajikistan and for some of the operations in Africa.

We had therefore proposed a number of amendments in a constructive manner and had hoped that agreement could be reached in a spirit of consultation and cooperation. Regrettably, however, our reasonable proposal was not accepted. We must therefore abstain on the draft resolution before us.

Mr. Fedotov (Russian Federation) *(interpretation from Russian)*: Russia has been closely following the process of a settlement in Haiti. We support the efforts of the legally elected President, Mr. Jean-Bertrand Aristide, and of the Government of Haiti to restore normalcy, constitutional legality and democratic institutions in that country. We note that as a result of the operations of the Multinational Force in Haiti considerable success has now been achieved in normalizing the situation and in creating a secure and stable climate, in keeping with the provisions of resolution 940 (1994). As has been confirmed by international observers there and observers from human rights organizations, an end has now been put to political violence; gross violations of human rights have virtually ceased; and the rate of common crime has dropped somewhat. The situation in Haiti no longer poses a threat to peace and security.

Yet it is clearly premature to assert that this trend is irreversible. Obviously, creating stability, particularly long-term stability, is related first and foremost to certain social and economic factors and will require considerable assistance from the international community to the people of Haiti.

Both with respect to Haiti and in a broader context, our approach to the matter of United Nations peace-keeping operations was recently set out during the Council's discussion of the Secretary-General's Supplement to the Agenda for Peace. Specifically, we consider that there must be a substantive discussion of what the real requirements for United Nations peace-keeping activities are and of what resources are needed to meet those requirements. Every peace-keeping operation is unique; the questions involved must be addressed in the light of each specific situation. But we believe that a single, clear-cut set of criteria should be fashioned for launching and conducting such operations. This would avoid double standards in the approach of the United Nations and the division of conflicts into "priority" and "secondary" conflicts.

We note that in the course of our work on the draft resolution before the Council the sponsors accommodated many of the ideas put forward by the Russian delegation. While we continue to have certain concerns, to which we referred during previous discussions, we consider that it is possible to give the green light to the transition to the United Nations phase of the operation. Here we are guided by the essential desirability of strengthening and expanding positive collaboration and cooperation within the Security Council. We would expect our Council partners to be guided by the same principles for the sake of strengthening stability throughout the world.

The President *(interpretation from Spanish)*: I shall now put draft resolution S/1995/85 to the vote.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Argentina, Botswana, Czech Republic, France, Germany, Honduras, Indonesia, Italy, Nigeria, Oman, Russian Federation, Rwanda, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

Against:

None

Abstaining:

China

The President *(interpretation from Spanish)*: The result of the voting is as follows: 14 votes in favour, none against and 1 abstention.

The draft resolution has been adopted as resolution 975 (1995).

I shall now call upon members of the Council who wish to make statements following the voting.

Mrs. Albright (United States of America): Today marks a planned and important point of transition in Haiti's journey from tyranny to democracy. The Multinational Force authorized by the Council last July has fulfilled its mission. Planning for the transfer of responsibility to a United Nations force is well under way. Today's vote verifies that the transition will occur by the end of March.

The men and women of the Multinational Force deserve our recognition and gratitude. They have performed difficult tasks with consummate skill. To the family of Sergeant First Class Gregory Dale Cardott, we acknowledge a special debt. Our hearts and prayers are with them.

My Government is pleased to have led the Multinational Force, and we thank warmly the other nations that have contributed to it. We note with satisfaction the strong bond that has developed between the forces and the Haitian people. We thank also the members of this Council, the Friends of Haiti and the Secretary-General and his staff for their commitment to respond dynamically and creatively to the Haitian crisis. Together, we have served well the United Nations Charter's pledge to pursue

> "social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom".

Over the past four months, because of our efforts, those of the Organization of American States, the wisdom of Haiti's leaders and the resilience of the Haitian people, welcome changes have been achieved. Once-dormant markets are now vibrant with life. Neighbourhoods once shadowed by terror echo now with laughter and renewed hope. Mothers no longer fear that their sons will be shot or their daughters raped by the keepers of official order. Police stations are used now for training, not torture. Boats are built for fishing, not flight. And political activity has resumed. The threads of economic life have been identified and now must be rewoven.

Last July, the Security Council responded to the unique circumstances in Haiti with a strategy in two parts. In the first phase, the Multinational Force was to create a secure and stable environment within which democratic institutions could begin to function. The Multinational Force has achieved that purpose. The illegal leaders departed peacefully. President Aristide and the legitimately elected Government have returned to power. More than 21,000 weapons have been purchased or seized. A new police force is being recruited, and the Haitian army is being reduced and reformed.

We are approaching now the second phase. Today, we have authorized the Secretary-General to recruit and deploy up to 6,000 military personnel and 900 civilian police to continue the tasks thus far so well advanced. The United Nations Mission in Haiti (UNMIH) will work with Haiti's Government and other donors to build a new civilian police force. It will assist the Government of Haiti in assuring public order. It will help establish an environment conducive to free and fair elections, and it will complete its assigned tasks by February 1996.

My Government has worked hard with the Multinational Force and the Secretariat staff to ensure a seamless transfer of responsibility — a transition without marked change. More than half of the military personnel and about one third of the civilians in UNMIH will be veterans of the Multinational Force. Overall, there will be no dramatic alteration in mission size, troop capabilities or quality of command. The United Nations troops will have the right to use force to defend

themselves, including the right to oppose forcible attempts to impede the discharge of their functions.

As the Secretary-General noted in his most recent report to the Council,

> "there is a feeling of liberty and a sense of security [in Haiti] which did not exist previously." (*S/1995/46, para. 13*)

The organized and semi-organized bands of thugs operating under official protection have been disbanded. But Haiti is by no means a tranquil land. The greedy, the embittered and the desperate retain the capacity for violence. Criminal forces may see this transition and the upcoming election campaign as an opportunity for bolder action. But let no one doubt: if this United Nations force is pushed, it has the leadership, the mandate, the fire-power and the will to push back.

The economic reconstruction of Haiti is not part of the United Nations peace-keeping mission, but efforts to that end are complementary. My Government joins with the Secretary-General in calling upon nations, development agencies, the United Nations system and regional and non-governmental organizations to work together with the Haitian Government to implement the emergency economic recovery programme. The door to private investment must be open. There is no better answer to inequality, corruption and strife than freedom, jobs, basic education and food on the table.

As the resolution we have approved today recognizes, the future of Haiti rests, as it must, in Haitian hands. Democratic institutions cannot be imposed upon a society; they must be nurtured from within. The road ahead remains an uphill road, but the international community can be satisfied that those with the commitment to build a free Haiti now have that opportunity. By allowing that chance, this Council has kept faith with the people of Haiti, with the cause of freedom and with the Charter of this great institution.

Mr. Mérimée (France) *(interpretation from French)*: My delegation was pleased to vote in favour of the resolution, which authorizes the Secretary-General to make arrangements for the transfer of the duties of the Multinational Force in Haiti to the United Nations Mission in Haiti.

When it adopted resolution 940 (1994), the Council decided that the objective was to hand over to the United Nations as quickly as possible — that is, as soon as a secure and stable environment had been established and the United Nations was in a position to take over it. There is therefore every reason to be pleased that the conditions have been met to allow the second phase of the operation to begin on 31 March. This attests to the progress that has been made since the deployment of the Multinational Force four months ago. In this connection, my delegation again pays tribute to the commanders and other members of the Force.

The ending of political violence, once one of Haiti's scourges, is an unquestionable success, as are the waning of fear and the resumption of political debate. The Government is performing its duties, and President Aristide, who advocates national reconciliation, is keeping his word. Furthermore, his message is being heeded. I also note that the timetable envisaged when the operation was launched has been met. That is a positive point.

The holding of legislative elections is a decisive element in the return of democracy. This ballot should be held as soon as it reasonably can be. I hope that all the necessary arrangements will be made for it to be held in complete security and with complete impartiality. The United Nations and the Haitians must take the necessary measures in that regard.

It is true that there remain reasons for concern, particularly the resurgence of common crime and the implication in the violence of former paramilitary networks. This must be stopped if an authentic democratic society is to be built. Great attention should be focused on the reintegration and professional training of demobilized troops. The establishment of an honest and efficient police force is also of fundamental importance. My delegation welcomes the success of the training programmes that have been initiated, in which France is participating.

Lastly, I wish to emphasize the importance of economic development and the rebuilding of institutions, particularly the judiciary, in order to consolidate democracy in Haiti. We welcome what the Ambassador of Haiti said on this subject. In this connection, I wish to inform the Council that a meeting of the donor advisory group was held today, in Paris. It will be followed by a meeting to coordinate the activities of those providing funds to promote justice in Haiti. France has also resumed its bilateral cooperation on a large scale. We

hope — in fact, we are certain — that everyone's efforts will set Haiti on the right path.

Mr. Graf zu Rantzau (Germany) *(interpretation from French)*: Germany considers that the time has come for the United Nations Mission in Haiti (UNMIH) to fulfil all of its functions. That is why we voted in favour of today's Security Council resolution on Haiti.

On this occasion, my Government would like to express its gratitude to the States participating in the Multinational Force, which, so far has opened the way for the return of the elected President, Jean-Bertrand Aristide, for the restoration of the legitimate Government of Haiti and for the re-establishment of a stable and secure environment in that country. The Multinational Force and the United Nations Mission in Haiti must together provide the guarantee that the critical transitional phase, which coincides with the holding of legislative elections, will also be a success.

We have already witnessed a perceptible improvement in the situation in Haiti. Haitians now enjoy fundamental rights — in particular, the rights of freedom of expression, assembly and association — to a greater extent than ever before. It is essential to maintain a stable and secure environment in Haiti in order to further consolidate its democratic structures, and we hope that the soon-to-be-held legislative elections will strengthen the progress already achieved.

While there is now no danger hovering over the Haitian Government, there are none the less elements of concern that we must, unfortunately, take into account: the numerous criminal acts often perpetrated by members of the old regime; the increasing number of uncontrolled weapons; the insufficiency and continued ineffectiveness of the law-and-order forces; and the lack of judicial authorities to initiate penal proceedings. The Haitian Government, with the assistance of the United Nations Mission in Haiti and the international community, must urgently focus all its attention on these concerns.

In the final analysis, we must realize that the efforts to stabilize Haiti will depend in very large part on its socio-economic development, and we see some encouraging signs in this regard. None the less, a great deal remains to be done, and we are counting on the Government of Haiti to address these matters vigorously. The international community, the United Nations system and the Member States must make a large contribution to that effort in order for the Haitian Government to succeed. Hence, my Government stands ready to participate in the economic reconstruction of Haiti.

Mr. Fulci (Italy): The resolution just adopted on Haiti is another building-block in the beginning of a new phase of political, social and economic development in that country. The United Nations Mission in Haiti (UNMIH) will be deployed in accordance with the timetable and the procedures suggested by the Secretary-General, and, consequently, the mandate of the Multinational Force will terminate by 31 March. This will be the next decisive step on the road to recovery from the crisis that exploded when military leaders illegally seized power in Port-au-Prince.

The first step was the intervention of the Multinational Force, which liberated the Haitian people from the military regime and made possible the return of their constitutional leader, President Aristide. The fact that the dictators were forced to leave the country without armed resistance or bloodshed was also an undeniable accomplishment for all those who made this outcome possible.

Democracy is back in Haiti; security has increased considerably; the human rights situation has improved; and preparations are already under way for the legislative elections to be held, hopefully, before summer. But, as the Secretary-General's report points out, these achievements cannot be considered irreversible. It appears that a large number of weapons continue to plague the country. This is why, quite rightly, operative paragraph 11 of the resolution urges the Government of Haiti to establish without delay an effective police force and to improve the functioning of its judicial system.

Thus, the priority is the establishment of the new police force. Although not explicitly mentioned in the resolution, it seems to us, on the basis of the Secretary-General's report, that a second priority is that of restructuring the armed forces, which were at the root of the problems. Another important factor will be the election of the new Parliament, to be followed in February of next year by the presidential elections. Last but not least, a strong, sincere commitment from the international community is needed to assist and support institutional, social and economic development, which, in the end, remains the prerequisite to the promotion and consolidation of peace. In this regard, I would like to ask the Ambassador of Haiti, Mr. Fritz Longchamp, to assure his Government and his countrymen that, as always, they can rely on my country, Italy.

If all goes well, Haiti will soon become another United Nations success story. Our sincere appreciation and gratitude go to all those who have made and will make possible this welcome turn of events.

Mr. Gomersall (United Kingdom): The adoption of today's resolution marks another important step towards the re-establishment in Haiti of a fully functioning democracy. It demonstrates the continuing commitment of the Security Council to international peace and security and the further consolidation of the great improvements in Haiti since the departure of the military regime.

My Government agrees with the Secretary-General and the other contributors to the Multinational Force that the conditions in Haiti now permit a smooth and early transition to the United Nations Mission in Haiti (UNMIH). We commend the efforts of the Multinational Force and of all the countries contributing to it, which have created the environment necessary for the full deployment of UNMIH. As the resolution makes clear, it will be important for the Secretary-General to keep UNMIH force levels under constant review and to recommend to the Council adjustments as and when the situation in Haiti permits.

The resolution just adopted acknowledges that the threat formerly posed to peace and security in the region has now been removed. We congratulate President Aristide on his role in helping to make this possible. His efforts to promote peace and reconciliation have obviously been a most important factor in the success of the multinational operation. It is important that the people of Haiti give the highest priority to the process of reconciliation and the maintenance of stability. Ultimately it is the Haitians themselves who have responsibility for the reconstruction of their country. We will continue to support them, not least in the approach to the forthcoming legislative elections. We look forward to an early start to a free and fair election campaign, monitored by the United Nations.

It is too early to predict the final and complete success of the United Nations involvement in Haiti, but the action taken so far by this Council and by the Multinational Force has given us strong grounds for optimism. My Government believes that the resolution we have just adopted will bring success a significant step closer.

The President *(interpretation from Spanish):* I shall now make a statement in my capacity as the representative of the Argentine Republic.

Argentina has repeatedly stated its commitment to a solution of the Haitian crisis since the very beginning of United Nations involvement; hence our participation, with vessels of the Argentine Navy, in the embargo imposed by this body, in the group monitoring the border between Haiti and the Dominican Republic, and in the Multinational Force, as well as support for the United Nations Mission in Haiti (UNMIH).

We have also attached primary importance to trying to solve the crisis, within the framework of the Organization of American States (OAS) and in this Organization — from the careful procedures concerning humanitarian exceptions to the embargo, dealt with in the Pan American World Health Organization (WHO) and the former sanctions Committee of this Council, to increases in the indicative planning figures of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP).

We are convinced that the political efforts made by the Security Council should be accompanied by economic and social measures in support of the efforts of the Government of Haiti. In the context of post-conflict peace-building, we should continue to promote every effort and initiative to serve and assist the people and Government of Haiti.

With respect to the particular circumstances that bring us together today, my country, as one of the group of Friends of the Secretary-General on Haiti, participated in the drafting of the text that we have just adopted. Our co-sponsorship of the resolution indicates the extent of our commitment to, and involvement with, Haiti and our agreement with the transfer of functions from the Multinational Force to the United Nations Mission, as well as with the level of military and civilian personnel recommended by the Secretary-General.

The broad sponsorship in the Council demonstrates the interest in the positive developments in the Haitian situation. We wish to express our satisfaction over the exemplary performance of the Multinational Force, whose personnel have carried out the mandate of the international community within the framework of the United Nations Charter, a mandate given in resolution 940 (1994), in a responsible manner and in keeping with the circumstances they had to confront.

Now more than ever before, the normalization of Haiti requires the efforts of the United Nations. In the Council, as well as on all other fronts, we shall continue

our work and reiterate our commitment to anything intended to improve the situation of the people of Haiti.

I now resume my functions as President of the Council.

There are no further speakers. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 11.45 p.m.